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over, a gentleman of wealth and prestige to the Alorese, and he was a Moslem. It was evident that the villagers had an eye for litigation where their women were concerned, and that was a source of trouble it seemed wise to avoid. To Ali I entrusted all the care of establishing a household in an island unfamiliar and remote to us both. This duty he discharged with such skill, tact, and devotion that I have never lived so carefree a domestic existence in areas replete with what pass for civilized conveniences. To Ali was entrusted also the training of five Alorese boys, one from each of the five villages in the valley where I worked. Five boys may seem an excessive staff, but in this way no one of them had too much unaccustomed work, and each was free to play a normal part in village affairs, and I had the inestimable advantage of an informant and host in each community. Also, as I learned later, the impartial distribution of cash wages stood me in good stead.

The choice of the village in which I was to work involved long sessions with the radjah of Alor and several horseback trips into the interior. When I chose Atimelang, the radjah was obviously reluctant. He feared and distrusted these savage mountaineers who had been embroiled in the murder of his uncle, the former radjah, some twenty years before. His "kapitan," however, was willing to vouch for my safety, and two hours after the decision was reached, I had purchased the corn crop growing on the land where my house was to be built overlooking the dance place. The floor plan of the kind of house I had designed in terms of local building ability was staked out—a verandah, a living room, two bedrooms, and a store room. To one side was to be the kitchen and bath house. From the hill rising sharply back of the village, water was to be brought in a bamboo "aqueduct" from a spring which was reported to flow all year. I was assured that in two weeks the miracle would be wrought. When the Dutch controleur returned at the end of two weeks with me and the twenty-eight carriers, the house was not completed; it had barely been started. The controleur had to go back but I stayed on in the government rest shack to see the job through. The next two weeks of cajolery improved my Malay and gave me a start at the local language.

This language had not been studied before and, of course, had no written form. It seemed useful to give it some name, so I called it Abui, which is the word the local people used to designate themselves as opposed to the coastal people. From the beginning vocabularies and texts were taken down phonetically, and by the time that autobiographical material was recorded a year later, I was able to translate directly

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177
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Fantan the Interpreter.

Fantan's attire is influenced by his contacts with a foreign culture.

291

In full regalia this man strikes a pose that he considers suitable.

This pseudo-Semitic type is often found on Alor.

[p. 32 D-2]

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Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds nd pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubesful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

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informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to 586
have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things."
Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the
following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril.

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have 539
intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had 831
vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A
man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people.
The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the
husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would
have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So
the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house,
chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy,
where she gave birth in normal fashion.

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the
child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a
grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The hus-
band asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the
slave answered, "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the
father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh,
the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the
child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then,
while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman.
Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives,
but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.* In connection with chil- 833
dren, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However,
mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrest-
ling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is
considered the proper time for intercourse. Encounters during the day
and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of
preferring the latter type of encounter.

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced
a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was re- 844
ferred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to
some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe-

* Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this in- [15 ●
formation was secured largely from one person, Fantan the Interpreter, after our 124]
relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he
would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and
opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this
sort of investigation.

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Part 3 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Procedure and Presentation

THIS part consists of eight autobiographies, each of which is followed by Dr. Kardiner's analysis of it. The chart on the next page gives in condensed form certain information about the subjects. Preceding each autobiography is a genealogy. These lists do not pretend to be complete, but they do include the names of the kinsmen most frequently mentioned. They serve to give some idea of the size and nature of the kin group in which each subject grew up. A glance will reveal the difference between Fantan and Tilapada in wealth of close relatives. This is important among a people theoretically so dependent on kin loyalties for support and status. Duplications and variations in personal names may confuse the reader as much as they do the Alorese, but I have tried to overcome this obstacle as far as possible.* 128

The persons from whom autobiographies were secured do not represent the ideal or "type" person of Atimelang. The most successful men said they were too busy with their financial and ceremonial affairs to spend the time required for telling a life history. Actually they probably did not need either the fee or the prestige that working with me involved. The "ideal" women of Atimelang, of whom there were a few, were either too unassertive or too engrossed in work to come daily to my house. I am under the impression that inability to secure autobiographical material from the successful type individuals of a culture is an experience many ethnographers have had in functioning societies. However, the autobiographies given here do represent, on the whole, average Atimelang adults. Of the eight, Fantan, Malelaka, and Lomani are farthest from the norm. 115 124

No attempt was made to secure this material until I had been almost a year in the community and was able, therefore, to estimate the status of the informant in his own social milieu. I then selected people who were representative, articulate, and had good rapport with both the interpreter and myself. Autobiographical interviews were limited to one hour each morning before the informant began his day's work. It was understood that each session would begin with dreams of the preceding 124

* In the case of an older person the term of respect for age, i.e., *kalieta*, was suffixed to the first syllables of the given name. For example, Padafani as an older man might be known as Padakalieta. In addition, the given name might be contracted with the first syllables of the father's name. For example, Padafani whose father is called Manimai might also be referred to as Padamani. [553]

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night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word *Question* in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run

SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	*Sex*	*Approximate Age*	*Number of Sessions*	*Sibling Position*
Mangma the Genealogist	Male	45	15	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Seer	Male	35	18	Third of five children
Maleiaka the Prophet	Male	45	20	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fantan the Interpreter	Male	25	12+	Youngest of three children
Tilapada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lomani	Female	25	12	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kolangkaliets	Female	50	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	15	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilapada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

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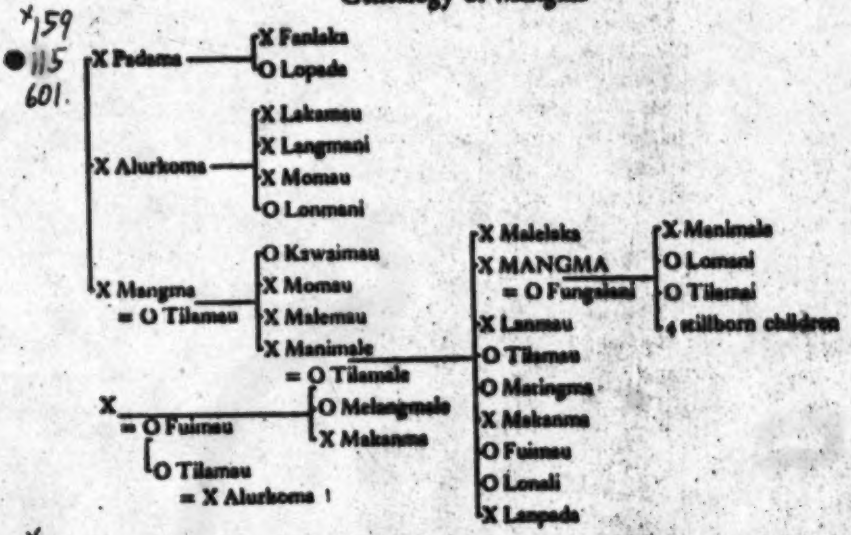
Genealogy of Mangma



tar under which I was crouching, but it did not crush me. I was safe there.

When I was a little bigger [six to seven], Alurkai and I were friends. We were big enough to begin to use bows and arrows. We went to Aimau and shot Maugpada's dog. He ran after us and we couldn't run [865] fast because we were still small. He took our bows and arrows and broke them up. He cut a stalk and beat us. [Question.] He was no kin. Mother and father did not quarrel with him. Maugpada said, "Now I have beaten you. Next time don't kill my dog."

Once my mother wanted me to cut * the fields, but I didn't want to, [865] so she tied my hands together and left me in the house. I gnawed the rope through and ran away to Alurkoma [mother's mother's sister's husband, called grandfather]. I lived with Alurkoma for about a year. But I thought about my mother's tying my hands, and so I got part of a knife blade and pounded it to make it hard and went to cut the field. When it was all cut and burned over, my father and mother came to plant it. Then I cared for the field myself and weeded it. When the food was ripening, my mother came to harvest it. I remembered her tying my hands, and I said she could not take the food. She remembered

[241] * This is a literal translation of the native term and refers to the clearing of weeds with a field knife.

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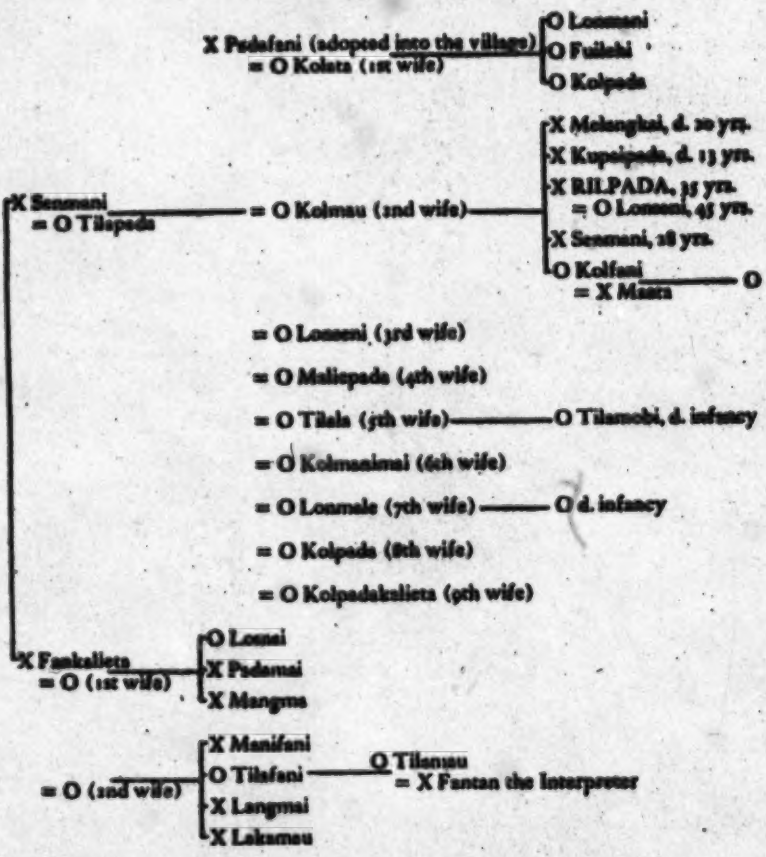
Genealogy of Rilpada



159 bamboo tubes full [twenty to thirty rats to a tube]. When we finished blackening our teeth, we told the girls, twenty-two of them, to pound and cook corn. We had a feast. Each girl was given seven rats. We boiled the rest of the rats and drank the soup to set the dye in our teeth. There were thirty boys. When we returned to the village, Padamale, who had blackened our teeth, collected all of us together and we paid him. He got fifty-two arrows. Our elders had helped us collect them and there were some left over, so the next day our elders suggested that we shoot at targets for them. They set ten banana stalks at

Genealogy of Malelaka

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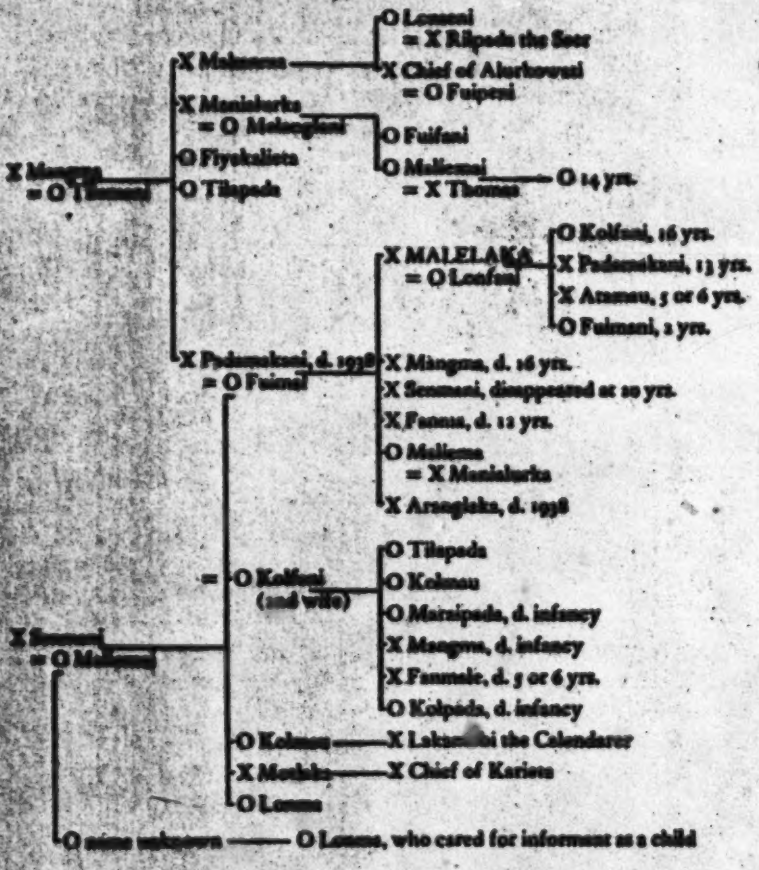

then I was to beat gongs just once so the people of the Five Villages could come bringing wood. I do not know exactly whether their promise was for one month or one year. When they spoke to me they asked, "Shall we bring an arrow or not?" I said, "If you bring an arrow, this world will turn over. If it does, who will be your subjects?" [The idea is that they would overturn the world with their arrow and the world would end.] So the Good Beings went back. In two days they came again and said, "Seers are the pupils of the eyes of the dead. They treat sick people and make them well. So when we come, call them just once. 159X

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red corn, red rice, snake tubers, red tubers, green bananas, or foreign bananas.'" So I collected the people together and gave them this law. After that people went to the government and complained against me.

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

This man was about forty-five at the time his autobiography was taken. His life history is in every way typical. His childhood and adolescence were quite normal, and his parents seem to have been true to the cultural form in their treatment of him. He is not a very successful man, and his standing as a seer is questionable. Rilpada holds him in great contempt. His story itself is faulty in that many details needed to establish the continuity of his life are lacking.

Of particular interest in this man are his reactions to having his autobiography taken down. The ethnographer had evidently established a justified reputation for being quite a healer and a powerful person. Malelaka's attitude toward the interviews is unusual. He is eager for them and often comes early for his appointment. Before long he has a very decisive attitude toward the ethnographer. He feels that he can get something out of this situation, and his dreams reveal time and again his disappointment at what is happening. His sole motive is to play on the ethnographer's sympathies in one way or another in order to get her to give him something. Judging from his dreams, we would say that what he really wants is food without paying for it. From time to time he becomes exceedingly impatient with the situation when his wishes do not materialize. Furthermore, he wants to impress the ethnographer, and perhaps in some ways he regards her as a competitor, but indeed one for whom he has great respect.

The greatest emphasis in Malelaka's story falls on his vocational activities, in connection with which he has some very interesting and revealing dreams. The story is short on the affective side, just like those of other Alorese, and is extremely poor in the description of his human relationships. Like other Alorese too, he tends to emphasize the infantile, and his current life is hardly touched upon. This may be the result of the way the situation was described to him in the initial interviews. Here the influence of the interpreter may be important. Very little mention is made of his wife and children.

For the light that his autobiography casts upon this society, perhaps the most striking features are the story of his relations with women, the persistent manner in which wealth-status is associated with mating,

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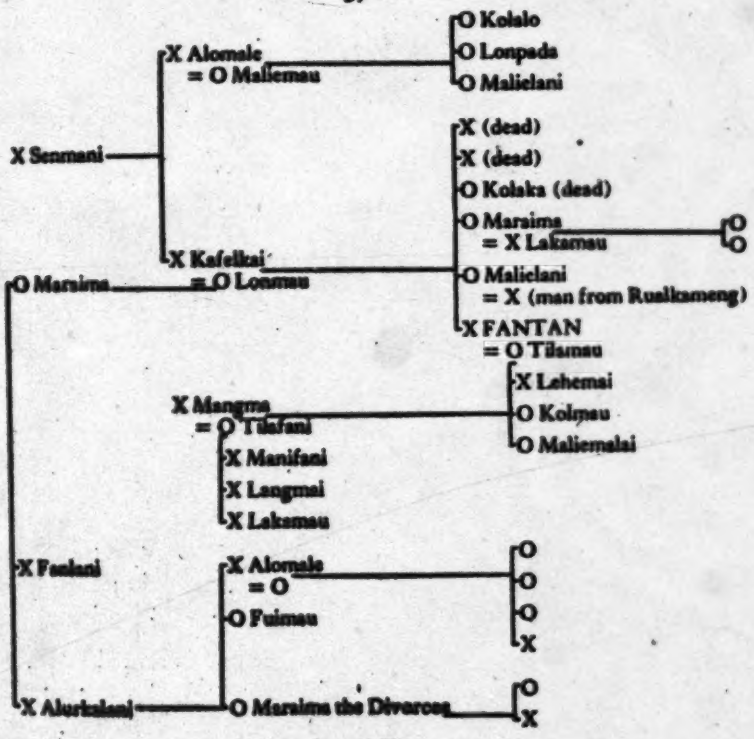
Chapter 13

Fantan the Interpreter

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The beginning of this autobiography was collected in the usual manner. It was the first of the eight secured, and I suggested that Fantan tell me his life story so that he could understand the kind of information I hoped to get. The last part is a combination of Fantan's own casual accounts of his daily affairs and my observations on the difficulties he encountered. This latter part is written in the third person instead of the first and consists partly of casual jottings on Fantan's behavior and attitudes made in connection with other topics.

Genealogy of Fantan



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married a year when my wife became pregnant. At the end of the second year she gave birth.

[Question.] At the end of the first separation it was I who made a litigation to get back my bride-price. Her parents said I hadn't come to one of their feasts to help them. I wanted to get my bride-price back, but the chiefs—I mean my wife—said I was her husband. [Here I felt that he had started to say that the chiefs heard the litigation and didn't approve the divorce, but he corrected himself and stressed the point that his wife was deeply attached to him.] So Malikalieta, a relative, paid a free gift [*pungbe*] for me, and my wife returned to live with me. [This free gift was what he was expected to contribute to his parents-in-law's feast.]

[Question.] My wife is pregnant now; she has been for four months, and in another six months she will give birth. [Shortly after his wife's pregnancy began he built his own house and stopped living in his sister's. He had said nothing to me previously about his wife's pregnancy. I asked, "Are you glad?"] Yes. [He smiled in a pleased fashion.] A child is like having wealth. When we get a child it is like getting the bride-price back. A girl brings luck too. When she grows up she brings us a bride-price. A boy when he grows up and is big makes our death feasts. [Which do you want more?] It is just the same whether it is a boy or a girl.

November 19, 1938

[Yesterday I told Fantan that for one month I could use him only half time. He was very angry and unwilling. Finally, at his suggestion, I agreed to give him more than half pay for half time. He said that then people wouldn't think I was dissatisfied with him. This morning he started in much more willingly than yesterday.]

Last night I dreamed. My soul went to the market at Aiyakanliking to barter. The women of the Five Villages had gone on first. When I got to the market there was no one there. The women had finished their trading and were down below the market place. Malielani, Maraima [his two older sisters], and Lakamau [Maraima's husband] were there. Lakamau was angry with Malielani. I and Lakamau fought, exchanging blows. I told him to go back to his own village. "Your wife is my sister, but I have given you a lot for her. It is better that you don't stay with us." I was helping Malielani. Malielani is from a distant village, and when she comes here she must stay with us. Then we returned to the house. I woke up and told my wife. I think this is a true dream, but I think I shall hit Lakamau only if I go to Aiyakanliking.

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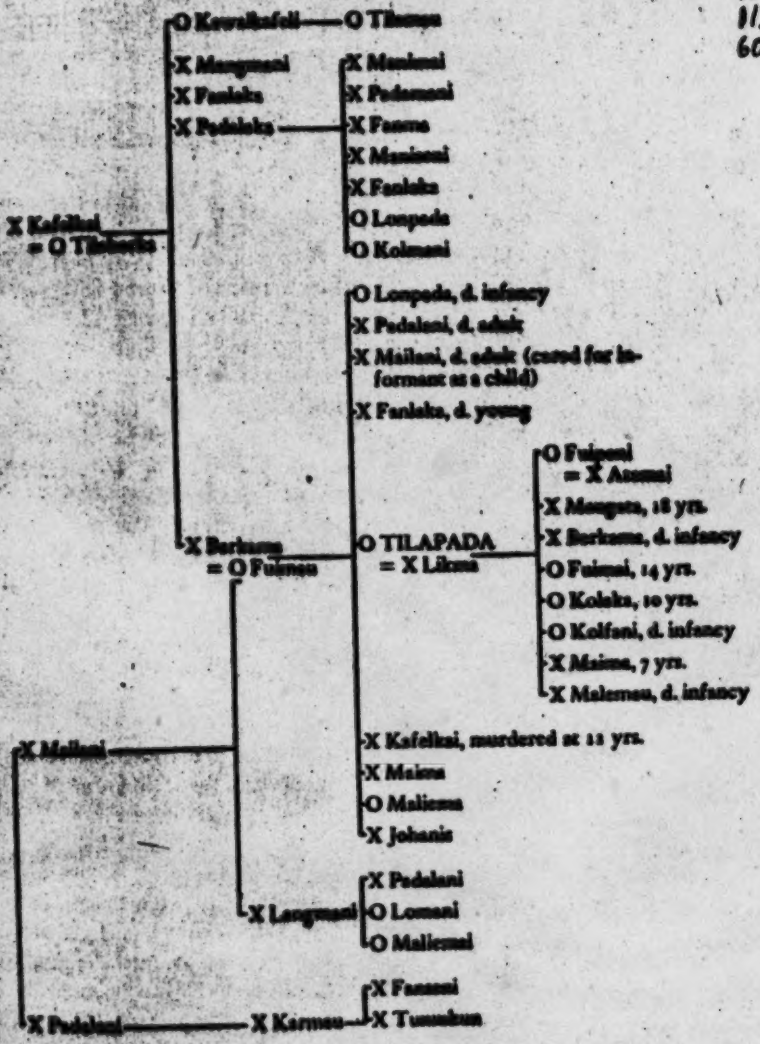
Genealogy of Tilapada



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Chapter 15

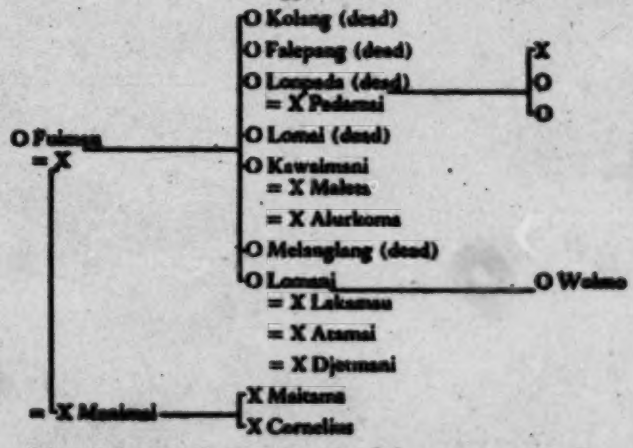
Lomani

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

March 11, 1939

159 My father died when I was small, so I don't know him. Then mother took us to Padavi [a fieldsite]. We lived there and then came back to Hiengmang [another fieldsite]. Then we went to live in Old Atimelang. We made a lean-to [*tolang*, a very poor sort of house] at Kamangmelang. Mother herself made the house and put a little thatch on it, and we slept there. Mother raised a pig for my grandfather's death feast. After we had given the feast, mother died. When we were a little

Genealogy of Lomani *



* A complete genealogy was not recorded.

bigger we hunted husbands. Then I went to my husband's village and he died. Next I married a man from Kalmaabui. I went to cut weeds and made the garden feast all by myself. He didn't come to help me, so I ran away and came back here to Atimelang. Djetmani said I was his wife, so we married and stayed together until Djetmani married Falangmau. He said he didn't want me any more, so I was left. Then people wanted me to marry again, but I said no, that it was better that I stay

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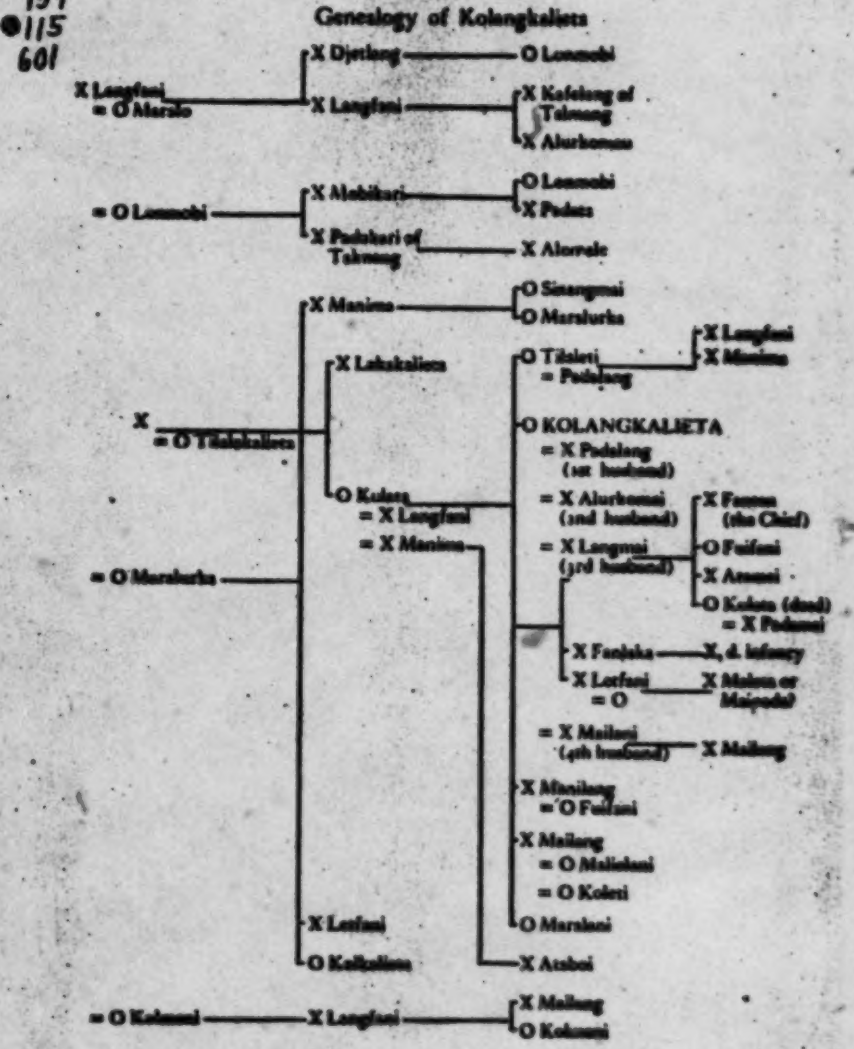
Geneology of Kolangkalieta
X Djetlang
O Lonmobi
X Langfani
= O Marala
X Langfani
X Kafelang of Talmang
X Alurbomai
= O Lonmobi
X Mobikari
O Lonmobi
X Padua
X Padakari of Talmang
X Alorrale
X Manima
O Sinangmai
O Marsiurba
X Lakakaliera
O Tâsleri
= Padalang
X Langfani
X Manima
X
= O Tâsleikaliera
O KOLANGKALIETA
= X Padalang (1st husband)
O Kuiera
= X Langfani
= X Alurbomai (2nd husband)
X Fanua (the Chief)
= X Manima
= X Langmai (3rd husband)
O Fuifani
X Anuani
O Kuiera (dead)
= X Padumai
= O Marsiurba
X Fanjaka
X, d. infancy
X Lotfani
= O
X Malua or Maipodi?
= X Mailani (4th husband)
X Mailang
X Manilang
= O Fuifani
X Mailang
= O Malielani
= O Koleti
X Lotfani
O Kalkaliera
O Marsiani
X Atsbai
= O Kalmani
X Langfani
X Mailang
O Kalmani

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Chapter 17

Kolmani the Seeress

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

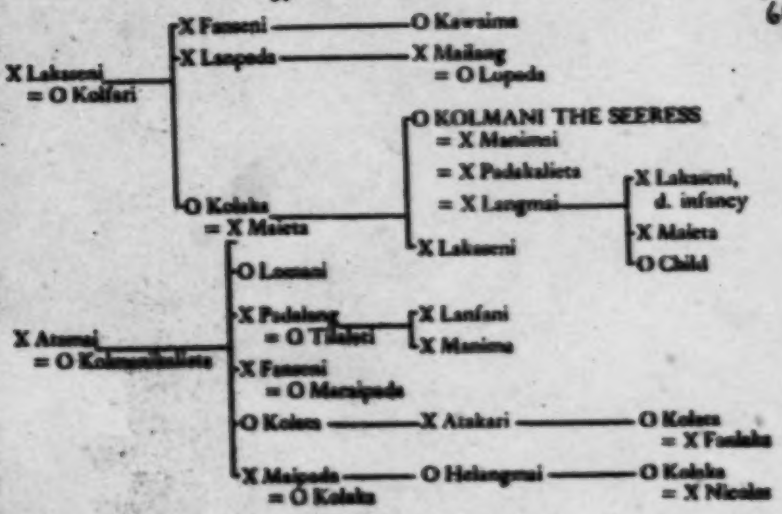
The informant talked freely and herself suggested that she give her autobiography. She spoke in briefer paragraphs than the others and stopped to see that her words were written down. After the first day these pauses are indicated with the word *Stop* in brackets. 124

April 12, 1939

Father I never knew. He died when I could just crawl. After that mother died when I was only two. Grandmother took care of me. I stayed there a long time and then went to live with various mothers [classificatory]. One mother had a child, Maleta, for whom I cared; then she became pregnant and had another child, Langfani. I took care of that child too. Then I had a bad case of yaws. I was staying with my mother and taking care of Maleta when the village burned down. Later mother cut a garden for me. She sold the proceeds for two pieces of cloth, but she didn't give them to me. When I was staying with her, my middle mother [the middle sister in her mother's family] asked me 159[x]

[115 ● 601]

Genealogy of Kolmani the Seeress



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[159] died. [Stop. This was the first time the informant was not ready to plunge on. I asked what relationship Lonmau was to her. She was the informant's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, i.e., her "child."]

There was a dance at Alurkowsi. I, Fanlang, and many others went. Fanlang had already slept with Lonfani, who was married to Senfani of Alurkowsi. In the middle of the night that woman's husband came with a sword and struck Fanlang's shoulder, but Fanlang's familiar spirit was with him. [Familiar spirits were generally supposed to sit [174] on the shoulder.] Blood flowed like water. People lighted torches and looked. They brushed away the blood on Fanlang's shoulder, and there was no wound. There was blood everywhere, but no wound. His shield was split in two. Fanlang's familiar spirit told him, "An Alurkowsi man has cut my finger. You must call many people to come." [Stop.] The shield was split, and the owner, from whom Fanlang had borrowed it, litigated. Fanlang paid him a Piki moko. Then he slept again with Lonfani. He slept with Maliemai. Her husband came to litigate. He had to pay twelve tallies' worth, consisting of five pigs, mokos, cloth, and tobacco. [The informant seemed unusually interested in, and ● [115] indiscreet about, other people's sexual misdemeanors. The interpreter privately expressed disapproval of her conversation.]

April 14, 1939

I dreamed that as my soul returned from Alurkowsi, I came to a large, deep pool into which water flowed from a bamboo pipe. I drank from the pool, and as I did I saw my husband breaking off sugar cane. [This she told in a hushed and impressed tone of voice, saying it was [178] a very bad dream. I asked why, and she said that breaking off sugar cane was a sign of cutting a bamboo digging-stick to make a grave. She said that when she awoke she found that her husband felt sick and was still ill. She said, "Now that I have told my dream, shall I tell a myth?" I asked for personal material instead.]

When I was small my mother and father died. I don't remember them. I stayed then with my grandmother, whose death I remember. [134] Then I went to live with different aunts and uncles. [Stop.] I took [141] care of their children until I was old enough to think; then I made gardens. [Stop.] When I was caring for children, I said to my uncle, "If I only care for children, I shall never cultivate a field." So I began one, but he said, "Oh, you mind the children and I will finish your garden." [Stop.] Then he said his back hurt and that I could go out and cut fields with my friends while he minded the baby. He said, "If

Stimulus Word	Delayed Response	Perseveration or Irrelevancy	Total
9. his (last) soul	10	13	23
41. dream	8	1	9
45. invoke	8	3	11
3. foreign money	7	3	10
33. I think	5	9	14
28. fish	5	3	8
87. his penis	5	1	6
26. (to) fly	4	3	7
48. (to) pay	4	2	6
	56	40	96

It is interesting that words like *soul*, *think*, *invoke*, and *dream*, which are not concrete, should create delay and confusion. This agrees with word test experience in our own culture when abstract or unusual words are used. The difficulties over the word *penis* were all 5 on the part of men. Three of these men had also given aberrant responses to the word *vagina*, and all 5 were men who ranged from unsuccessful to only moderately successful financially. The responses, including those of 3 husbands and wives, are tabulated below and may be suggestive of personal difficulties.

	Responses to Stimulus Words	
	Vagina (*penis* is normal response)	*Penis* (*vagina* is normal response)
Ilkuru	penis	wild pig testicles
Tikpendo, his wife	remove woman's loincloth	lust
Atafani	many	urinate from
Kolang, his wife	kill, eat	vagina
Alorkuman	penis	stomach, mouth
Kawainan, his wife	penis	vagina
Malenu	water	kill, eat
Fulmal,* his sister-in-law	buttocks	his tall stepbrother
Pinkhafali	shoe (perseveration from stimulus word *fish*?)	his, or man's, hair

* Village gossip accused this pair of illicit relations. Malenu was about 25 and still unmarried. He lived in his brother's household. His brother was absent most of the time. Malenu's response to the stimulus word *fever* was *food*; to *village boundary*, *wander outside of*.

It would seem from this tabulation that men are more vulnerable than women in respect to sexual adjustment and that the vulnerability is related to their own organs. This is of course only a guess. It does show, however, the possible value of a word association test in opening up for the field worker areas of individual and group problems in adjustment.

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125
113

Figure 2. Atemmi Pukemai (male), approximately 11 years. *a.* house. *b.* lizard. *c.* chicken. *d.* flower. *e.* coconut tree. *f.* house. *g.* house-game board. *h.* person. The others he could not identify.

Figure 3. Fanlang Maifuni (male), approximately 13 years. *a.* tree. *b.* coconut palm. *c.* chicken eating maize. *d.* field knife. *e.* fern. *f.* mango tree. *g.* foreign type house on coast. *h.* his younger brother. *i.* areca palm. *j.* cacia tree. *k.* cassava plants. *l.* lineage house. *m.* papaya tree.

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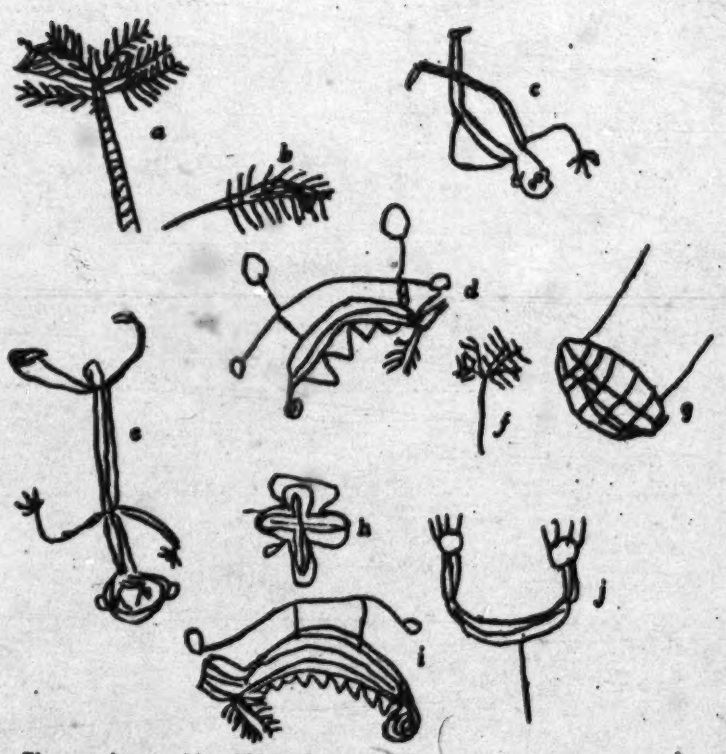

Figure 4. Atamau Maugliki (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* coconut tree. *b.* fern. *c.* evil spirit (*kari*). *d.* village guardian spirit carving. *e.* seer's evil familiar spirit (*loku*). *f.* fern. *g.* spirit altar. *h.* hawk (flower). *i.* village guardian spirit carving. *j.* spirit boat carving.

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Figure 5. Atamau Maima (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* necklace. *b.* snake. *c.* banana palm. *d.* coconut palm. *e.* tamarind tree. *f.* coconut palm.

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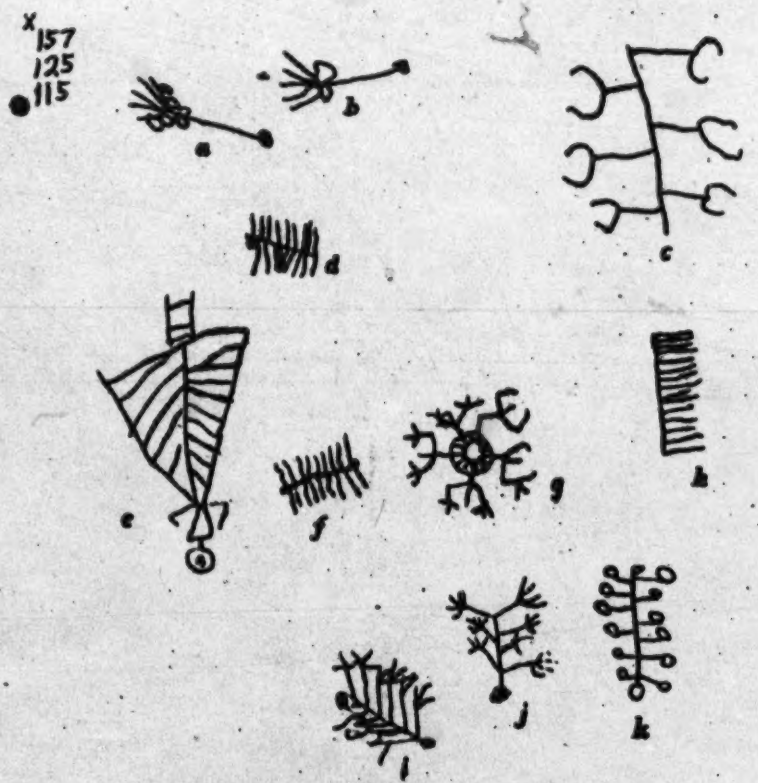

Figure 6. Fulani Langmani (female), approximately 9 years. *a.* coconut palm. *b.* areca palm. *c.* leaves. *d.* fishbones. *e.* house. *f.* fishbones. *g.* tattoo design. *h.* comb. *i.* fern. *j.* cassava plant. *k.* kapok tree.

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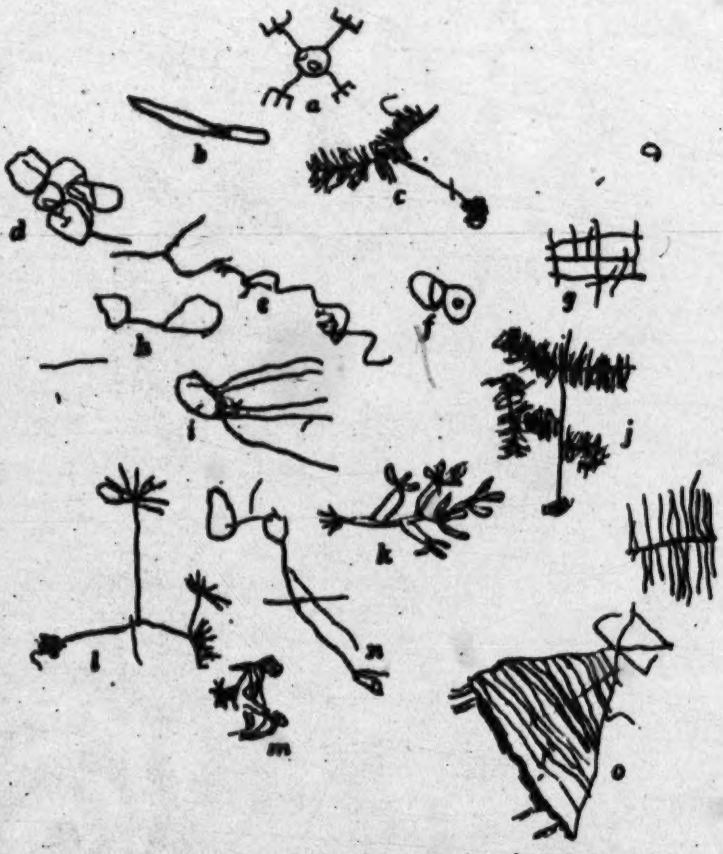

Figure 7. Fulakazi Langmani (female), approximately 8 years. *a.* tattoo design. *b.* knife. *c.* fern. *d.* three stars. *e.* snake. *f.* two stars. *g–i.* tattoo designs. *j.* tamarind tree. *k.* breadfruit tree. *l.* cassava plant. *m.* chicken. *n.* snake. *o.* house.

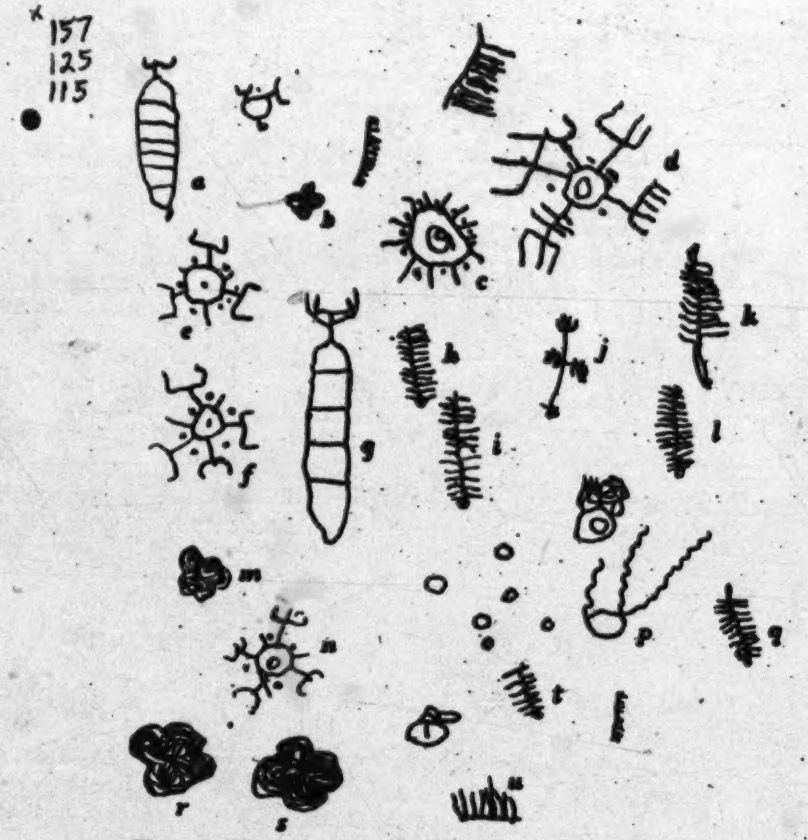

Figure 8. Tilasta Atukari (female), approximately 11 years. *a.* tattoo design. *b.* flower. *c–g.* tattoo designs. *h–i.* ferns. *j.* weed. *k–l.* ferns. *m.* flower. *n.* tattoo design. *o.* stars. *p.* "snake" tuber. *q.* fern. *r–s.* flowers. *t.* fern. *u.* comb.

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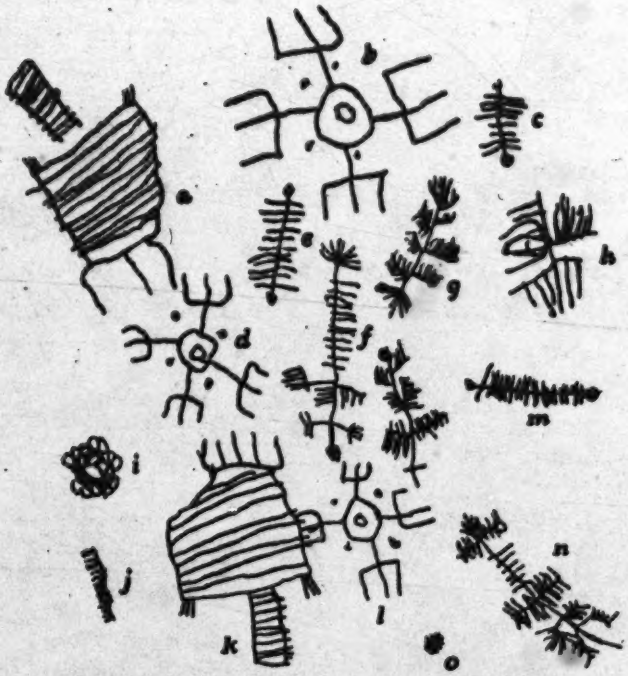

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Figure 9. **Kolfani Malelaka (female), approximately 12 years. *a.* house. *b.* tattoo design. *c.* fern. *d.* tattoo design. *e.* fern. *f.* cacia tree. *g.* tamarind tree. *h.* fern. *i.* tattoo design. *j.* comb. *k.* house. *l.* tattoo design. *m.* fern. *n.* tree. *o.* star.**

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In addition to this series of free-drawing sessions groups of boys and girls were asked on other occasions to limit themselves to the figures of a man and woman. A few characteristic human forms are reproduced in Figures 10 through 14. An attempt was made to score these drawings according to the Goodenough scale. The best performances of ten boys and ten girls were selected for the purpose. Since the estimates of chronological age are necessarily tentative and since the cross-cultural applicability of the Goodenough scale has not been established, no great weight can be attached to the results. In view of their unreliability it seems undesirable to give the original data. However, it is interesting that the boys rated a test age of about half their chronological age and the girls' scores were even lower.

Figure 10. Padama Manipada (male), approximately 10 years. *a.* his father. *b.* his mother.

This is in marked contrast to a group of Naskapi boys. They were as unfamiliar as the Atimelang children with pencil and paper; their adult art form gave them no greater assistance in representing the human figure, yet their test age approximated their estimated chronological age.* Obviously this comparison tells us nothing about the relative intelligence of Atimelang and Naskapi children, but it does indicate a great difference in aptitudes, adaptation, and the development of skills in the two groups of children.

A point of interest in the drawing of human figures by the children of Atimelang is their inconsistency in representing sex differences, both in respect to body size and to the portrayal of genitals. Women are

*I am indebted to Drs. H. Harlow and W. D. Strong respectively for the scoring and the use of the Naskapi children's drawings.

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Figure 11. Maita Mangma (male), approximately 12 years. *a.* his younger sister. *b.* his older male cousin.

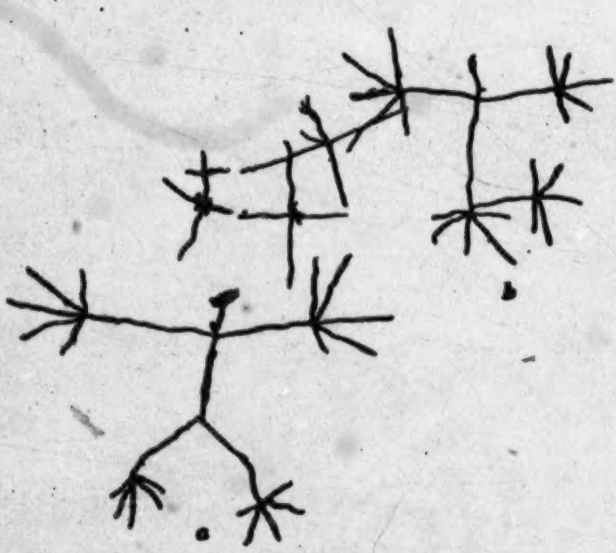

Figure 12. Lomani Manipada (female), approximately 13 years *a.* woman, *b.* man.

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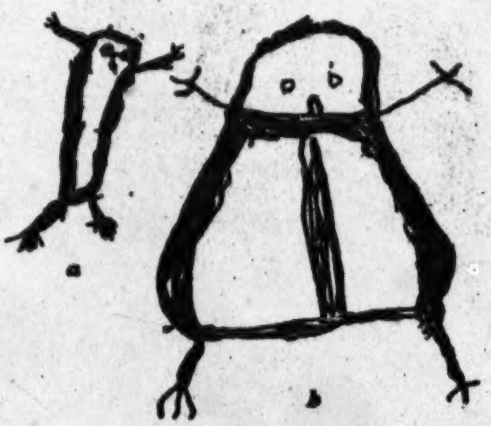

Figure 13. Tilamale Lanpada (female), approximately 12 years. *a.* woman. *b.* man.

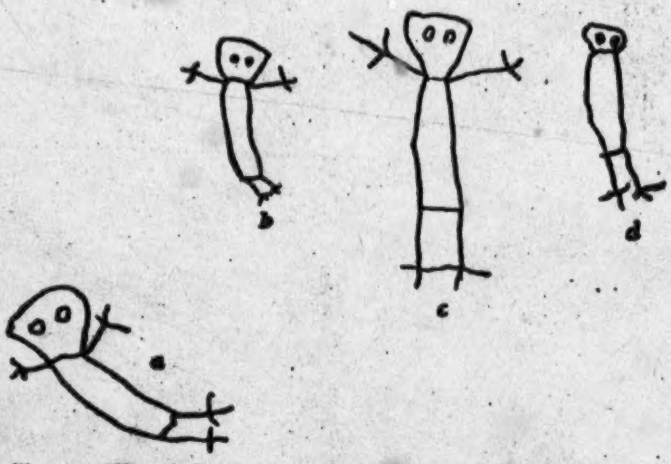

Figure 14. Tilamale Lanpada (see Figure 13). Human figures drawn on the following day. *a.* woman. *b.* man. *c.* woman. *d.* male child.

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Figure 15. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

Figure 16. A boy of approximately 7 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

Figure 17. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* "my male cousin sitting on a house with birds on his arms." *b.* lineage house.

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to the F+%, the W and their quality; the majority of the upper half ranks on the level of our morons. But, with regard both to the representations of emotional life and to the rest of the "intellectual" factors, the total of their findings is widely different from the average findings of our morons and feeble-minded, and the departures are the greater the nearer we come to the bottom of that order. Those remaining intellectual factors are the apperceptive type and the sequence, the percentages of animal interpretations (A%), and the original answers (O%). For the Alorese I counted as an original answer each response that occurs only once; among them, however, we find those responses that are most common in Europeans and Americans, i.e., the so-called popular answers. Only a few, apparently the most intelligent ones among these seventeen male Alorese, reach the level of our average intelligent with an IQ of about 85. At the top ranks Fantan the Interpreter (see later), and next to him Mangma the Chief and Johanis. Within the limits of this contribution I cannot say more about this problem; a full presentation of the Alorese intelligence would be a study in itself.

One remaining factor of the whole-part issue which has emotional significance is a special form of the Dd. It is the space figure interpretation by which the white portions of the pictures are interpreted. When these S coincide with many color reactions or better, with a predominance of these reactions over the movement answers, they express outgoing opposition or oppositional tendencies, like defiance, antagonism, argumentative behavior, and so forth. In the Alorese, even though they exhibit, in addition to the dominating black, a greater tendency to concentrate on the white color than is shown by the number of their S (there are white reactions other than S), these space figure interpretations are less frequent than in the normal Swiss (1:3), which is in conformity with the Alorese passive streak. Submission and opposition do not preclude each other but are not in tune with one another. The less frequent occurrence of S is another expression of the Alorese passive attitude.

VARIABILITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In this section I turn to the individual and some facts concerning the variability of the Alorese. Before giving blind diagnoses for some of them, I have to make a series of statements concerning the ways of getting at the individual's personality and psychological background.

It is obvious that statements of personality diagnosis must be based